



# LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

**No. 64.—Part 1.**

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## LETTERS OF LOYAL SOLDIERS.

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***What General Grant says of the Administration.***

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***What General Dix says of the Rebellion.***

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***What General Sickels says of Peace.***

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***What General Hooker says of the Election.***

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The Generals in command of the armies of the United States have had a better opportunity of judging what the nature, purposes and character of the Rebellion are than even the most skillful of our home observers. Hear what they say of it :

It is noticeable that all of these Generals have been identified in times past with the Democratic party, and thus they all claim to be, and are, Democrats still ; not of the class which surrenders to the enemy abroad in arms or rebels at home in disguise. Democrats who scorn alike the Montgomery Constitution and the Chicago Platform.

Shall we maintain these gallant men, who peril life in defence of democratic institutions, or vote for those who stay at home ?

### **The Army and the Administration.**

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“ HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES, }  
“ CULPEPPER COURT-HOUSE, May 1, 1864. }

“ THE PRESIDENT :—Your very kind letter of yesterday is just received. The confidence you express for the future and satisfaction for the past in my military administration, is acknowl

edged with pride. It shall be my earnest endeavor that you and the country shall not be disappointed. *From my first entrance into the volunteer service of the country to the present day, I have never had cause of complaint, have never expressed or implied a complaint against the Administration or the Secretary of War, for throwing any embarrassment in the way of my vigorously prosecuting what appeared to be my duty.* Indeed, since the promotion which placed me in command of all the armies, and in view of the great responsibility and importance of success, I have been astonished at the readiness with which everything asked for has been yielded, without even an explanation being asked. Should my success be less than I desire and expect, the least I can say is, the fault is not with you.

“Very truly, your obedient servant,

“U. S. GRANT, Lieut.-Gen.”

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### Gen. Dix at Sandusky.—A Serenade.—Speech of the General.

(*From the Sandusky Register of Sept. 27.*)

It being noised abroad last evening that Gen. Dix was in the city, a crowd collected at the West House, and on Columbus Avenue, in front of it. The Union Band of Sandusky repaired to the house and played several airs, when the crowd, which was by this time very large, began calling for “Dix,” “Dix,” when he came out upon the balcony of the hotel, and was introduced to the crowd by Capt. Steiner as the man who early in the war uttered that noble sentiment—“If any man dares pull down the American flag, shoot him on the spot.”

He was received with three loud cheers, and briefly addressed the people, saying:

“FELLOW-CITIZENS: I am very thankful to you for the honor you have done me. As I arrived here late to-night, am engaged in public business, and shall depart at an early hour in the morning, I know you will excuse me if I limit what I have to say to a simple acknowledgment of your kindness and courtesy.

“I will say one word, however, on the subject which lies nearest the heart of every loyal man—I mean the rebellion. It has been my conviction from the beginning that we can have no honorable peace until the insurgent armies are dispersed, and the leaders of the rebellion are expelled from the country. (Loud cheers.) *I believe that a cessation of hostilities would lead inevitably and directly to a recognition of the insurgent States;* and when I say this, I need hardly add that I can have no part in any political movement in which the Chicago platform is a basis. (Renewed cheering and applause.) No, fellow-citizens, the only hope of securing an honorable peace—a peace which

shall restore the Union and the Constitution—lies in a steady, persistent and unremitting prosecution of the war (great applause); and I believe the judgment of every right-thinking man will soon bring him to this conviction.

“With these few remarks, and renewing the expression of my thanks for your kindness, I bid you all good-night.”

### Speech of General Hooker at Brooklyn.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I need not tell you that I am entirely unprepared for this. I cannot and I do not take this demonstration, or any part of it, to myself. I am not worthy of this reception. [Cheers and cries of “Yes, you are!”] I am no more worthy than you. We are all in the same boat. You have been working in one place, and I have been working in another. Your victories are as dear to us in the front as the victories in the front are dear to you. [Cheers.] The victories of last Fall, (I speak from a full knowledge) were hailed with as much joy and as much enthusiasm in the army as though the victories had been achieved by other armies than the one which I belong to—the victory of Ohio [Cheers.] I hope that I may hear of many more; and I do not doubt that next November we will see one of which this rebellion has furnished no parallel. I need not tell you that I am rejoiced to find such an assemblage here to-night. It shows that it is all right with our cause and our country. [Applause.] Nothing, no reverse, no misfortune can befall us when our people are animated by the feeling which is evinced here to night. [Great applause.] If the war has been prolonged, it has not been from our weakness. We have not put forth all our resources, nor all our energies, although we have shown and employed resources which have amazed the world. The North has not yet endeavored to crush this rebellion by one great effort; and it can do it any day. [Cheers.] The people in these loyal States—and I am proud to say it—the people have been in advance of the authorities in this rebellion. [Cheers.] They will be until we reach the end, and the end is not remote. [Great cheering.] I am rejoiced to meet you to-night, and to meet you under such auspices. Tidings, glorious tidings, reach us from all of the armies. The work goes bravely on there. [Great applause.] *There are no Copperheads in the army* [Cheers.] They will fight well, and they will vote well. [Cheers.] More devotion, more loyalty, never animated the hearts and the hands of men more brave. I thank you most sincerely for the kindness with which you have received me to-night. I feel that I am unworthy of it. [Cries of “No! no!” and great cheering.] In my humble capacity I have never failed to do my duty, and I never shall. [Cheers.] I wish you good night. [Great and long-continued cheering.]

## A Patriotic Letter from General Sickles.

General Sickles, who in other times was one of the foremost of the democratic leaders in this city, has written the following letter, which will, no doubt, cause the McClellan and Pendleton men to denounce him, as they did General Logan lately, as "an abolitionist":

NEW YORK, Sept. 29, 1864.

"DEAR SIR: Your inquiry made on behalf of several members of the Union Congressional Convention for the Ninth District, whether I would accept a nomination for Congress, has received the respectful attention due to the patriotic source from which the suggestion emanated. In declining the use of my name as a candidate for this high trust, I only adhere to a resolution formed when I entered the military service, *to retire altogether from politics while holding a commission in the army.* This determination, with other considerations, had already constrained me, during the present canvass, to decline a similar request made by a number of my old and esteemed constituents in the Fourth District, who desired to present my name to the Democratic Convention. I yield to no citizen or soldier in my solicitude for the honorable termination of the war. *The war was deliberately begun by the rebels, and is persistently waged by them to divide and conquer the Union.* It is not so strange that our enemies should find allies among European antagonists of free institutions, but it will never cease to be a matter of humiliation and wonder that our own people could be seriously divided upon the question of submission or resistance. *Let who will be for submission, I am for resistance as long as we have a battalion and a battle-field left.*

"Until the Constitution and laws are vindicated in their supremacy throughout the land, the government should be confided to no hands that will hesitate to employ all the power of the nation to put down rebellion. The resources of the insurgents are already so far exhausted that they will give up the struggle as soon as a majority of the people at the ballot-box, seconding the martial summons of Farragut and Grant, demand the unconditional surrender of the enemy.

"Peace so won, through the noble aspirations of the people, will exalt the national character, and challenge the homage of all who honor patriotism and valor. Peace imposed upon us by an audacious and arrogant foe, who would owe his triumph, not to the superiority of his arms, but to a degenerate population, unworthy of their lineage and forgetful of their traditions, could only last until the contempt of mankind evoked from our shame enough manhood to renew the struggle.

"Very respectfully,

"DANIEL E. SICKLES, Major-General.

"HOMER FRANKLIN, Esq."

# LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

**No. 64.—Part 2.**

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## LETTERS OF LOYAL SOLDIERS.

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***How General Sherman proclaimed Peace at Atlanta.***

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***How General McCall pronounced for Peace in Pennsylvania.***

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Who knows most about the Rebellion? Politicians, who have lived at home, outside of the reach of its cannon—or Generals who have been turning its flank all summer? Read the Chicago outrage and then listen to Generals who are further inside of the Rebel lines, than the Chicago politicians were outside of them, and judge between the two.

All of these gallant soldiers hate War and love Peace. They know something of both. Yet not one is willing to give up by disgraceful surrender, the glories and the honor, which have cost so much blood and treasure; all they ask of us, is, to see to it, that there is no fire in the rear; they will take care of the Rebellion in the front.

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***Letter of General Sherman to the People of Atlanta.***

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On the 11th inst. the Mayor and Council of Atlanta addressed an elaborate letter to General Sherman. requesting a revocation

or modification of his order for the removal of the inhabitants of the city. General Sherman replied as follows :

“HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI, }  
 IN THE FIELD, }  
 ATLANTA, Ga., September 12, 1864. }

“*James M. Calhoun, Mayor, E. E. Rawson, and S. C. Wells,*  
*representing City Council of Atlanta :*

“GENTLEMEN : I have your letter of the 11th, in the nature of a petition to revoke my orders removing all the inhabitants from Atlanta. I have read it carefully, and give full credit to your statements of the distress that will be occasioned by it, and yet shall not revoke my order, simply because my orders are not designed to meet the humanities of the case, but to prepare for the future struggles in which millions, yea hundreds of millions of good people outside of Atlanta have a deep interest. We must have peace, not only at Atlanta, but in all America. To secure this we must stop the war that now desolates our once happy and favored country. To stop war we must defeat the rebel armies that are arrayed against the laws and constitution, which all must respect and obey. To defeat these armies we must prepare the way to reach them in their recesses, provided with the arms and instruments which enable us to accomplish our purpose.

“Now, I know the vindictive nature of our enemy, and that we may have many years of military operations from this quarter, and therefore deem it wise and prudent to prepare in time. The use of Atlanta for warlike purposes is inconsistent with its character as a home for families. There will be no manufactures, commerce or agriculture here for the maintenance of families, and sooner or later want will compel the inhabitant to go. Why not go now, when all the arrangements are completed for the transfer, instead of waiting till the plunging shot of contending armies will renew the scenes of the past month? Of course I do not apprehend any such thing at this moment, but you do not suppose that this army will be here till the war is over. I cannot discuss this subject with you fairly, because I cannot impart to you what I propose to do, but I assert that my military plans make it necessary for the inhabitants to go away, and I can only renew my offer of services to make their exodus in any direction as easy and comfortable as possible. You cannot qualify war in harsher terms than I will.

“War is cruelty, and you cannot refine it; and those who brought war on our country deserve all the curses and maledictions a people can pour out. I know I had no hand in making this war, and I know I will make more sacrifices than any of you to secure peace. But you cannot have peace and a division of our country. If the United States submits to a division now, it will not stop, but will go on till we reap the fate of Mexico,

which is eternal war. The United States does and must assert its authority wherever it has power; if it relaxes one bit to pressure it is gone, and I know that such is not the national feeling. This feeling assumes various shapes, but always comes back to that of Union. Once admit the Union, once more acknowledge the authority of the national government, and instead of devoting your houses and streets and roads to the dread uses of war, I, and this army, become at once your protectors and supporters, shielding you from danger, let it come from what quarter it may. I know that a few individuals cannot resist a torrent of error and passion such as has swept the South into rebellion; but you can point out, so that we may know those who desire a government and those who insist on war and its desolation.

“You might as well appeal against the thunder-storm as against these terrible hardships of war. They are inevitable, and the only way the people of Atlanta can hope once more to live in peace and quiet at home is to stop this war, which can alone be done by admitting that it began in error and is perpetuated in pride. We don’t want your negroes or your horses, or your houses, or your land, or anything you have, but we do want and will have a just obedience to the laws of the United States. That we will have, and if it involves the destruction of your improvements, we cannot help it. You have heretofore read public sentiment in your newspapers, that live by falsehood and excitement, and the quicker you seek for truth in other quarters the better for you.

“I repeat, then, that by the original compact of government, the United States had certain rights in Georgia which have never been relinquished, and never will be; that the South began war by seizing forts, arsenals, mints, custom-houses, &c., &c. long before Mr. LINCOLN was installed, and before the South had one jot or tittle of provocation. I myself have seen in Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee and Mississippi, hundreds and thousands of women and children fleeing from your armies and desperadoes, hungry and with bleeding feet. In Memphis, Vicksburg and Mississippi we fed thousands upon thousands of the families of rebel soldiers left on our hands, and whom we could not see starve. Now that war comes home to you, you feel very different—you deprecate its horrors, but did not feel them when you sent car-loads of soldiers and ammunition, and moulded shell and shot to carry war into Kentucky and Tennessee, and desolate the homes of hundreds and thousands of good people, who only asked to live in peace at their old homes, and under the government of their inheritance. But these comparisons are idle. I want PEACE, and believe it can only be reached through UNION AND WAR, and I will ever conduct war purely with a view to perfect and early success.

“But, my dear sirs, when that peace does come, you may call



on me for anything. Then will I share with you the last cracker, and watch with you to shield your homes and families against danger from every quarter. Now, you must go, and take with you the old and feeble; feed and nurse them, and build for them in more quiet places proper habitations to shield them against the weather, until the mad passions of men cool down, and allow the Union and peace once more to settle on your old homes at Atlanta.

“Yours, in haste,

“W. T. SHERMAN,  
*Major-General.*”

### General McCall on the War and the Election.

The following letter from General McCALL was read at a Union meeting in West Chester, Pennsylvania, on Saturday:

BELAIR, September 30, 1864.

“*Messrs. W. E. Barber, W. P. Marshall and others, committee:*

Gentlemen: I am in receipt of your letter of the 29th instant, inviting me ‘to preside over a mass meeting of the loyal citizens of Chester, Delaware and Montgomery Counties, to be held at the Agricultural Fair Grounds, on Saturday next, the 1st of October.’ Although I am constrained to decline the honor you have thus intended to convey, I will avail myself of the occasion to express to you my views with respect to the great question (the conduct of the war) now before our country, and soon to be decided at the coming Presidential Election, which views in the main have never, under any circumstances, undergone a change. No one deplored more than myself the stern necessity which required the Northern states to take up arms to quell the rebellion of the South, yet no one more than myself felt the necessity of rousing and exerting all the energies of the country to this end. One of two things then stared us in the face: either the positive suppression of the rebellion and the preservation of the Union, or the utter or irretrievable loss of position among the nations of the earth, and the entailment on our children of an everlasting disagreement, contention and war, with the southern people. I now believe, as I ever have believed, that if the Union is worth preserving, it is worth the prosecution of the war to a successful conclusion. With regard to the conduct of this war, I cannot say that I have approved or would now endorse all the measures of the present administration; but I regard any administration that will energetically prosecute the war as preferable to one that is in favor of an armistice and a convocation of the states—until the states of rebellion have laid down their arms.

“Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

~~GEORGE~~ A. McCALL.”

# LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

*No. 64.—Part 3.*

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## LETTERS OF LOYAL SOLDIERS.

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**How Douglas Democrats will Vote.**

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**Letters of Generals Wool & Logan.**

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### *General Wool upon McClellan & the Chicago Platform.*

Gen. Wool has written a letter to Hon. J. A. Griswold, of Troy, which concludes thus :

“With the unlimited confidence of the President and his Cabinet, having the control of all the resources at their disposal, with a ‘splendid army’ of one hundred and twenty thousand strong, increased to one hundred and fifty-eight thousand, as reported by the Adjutant-General of the Army, the goal was within the reach of General McClellan, but he knew not how to grasp it. He possessed ‘the sword of Scanderberg, but could not wield it.’ He neither comprehended the value of time, nor the advantages of prompt action and celerity of movement. His encamping in the swamps of the river Warwick, and the mud in front of Yorktown, for a month besieging the place, permitting its rebel garrison to be increased from nine thousand to over one hundred and twenty thousand men, as he represented, (the rebels say only seventy-five thousand,) and then allowing them to escape from Yorktown unobserved, was no less fatal to him as a commander than the result was disastrous to his army—at the same time it disappointed and depressed the hopes of every patriot throughout the Union. With advantages that few generals ever possessed, he signally failed.

Gen. McClellan expects to be President under the convention whose leaders sympathize with the Southern rebels, and whose platform was dictated by traitors calling themselves Democrats.

His friends say he repudiated the platform in his letter of acceptance. Can any one doubt, if the leaders succeed in electing him, no matter what he may have said in that letter, that he will be governed by the Chicago platform? It appears by the *New York Daily News*, the organ of the Peace men, that *the platform was approved by the General two months before the convention met at Chicago*. The editor says: "Early in July last—we have it upon the authority of a delegate from Indiana, who was selected by the delegation from his State to act as one of the committee to inform the candidates of the action of the convention—the platform, with its peace planks, almost word for word as adopted, was presented to General McClellan, *and was by him approved both in its letter and spirit.*" Under such circumstances, coming from the source it does, the truth of the statement cannot be doubted. *The General is bound by his plighted faith to be governed by the platform should he be elected.* To violate it, he would exhibit more courage than most men possess.

Allow me to ask, is there a Democrat who voted for Senator Douglas for President, that will vote for any candidate who accepts a nomination from a convention that sympathizes with the rebels, and which was dictated to by Southern traitors in the formation of its platform? I hope there is not one. Although Douglas was defeated in his election by the Southern Democracy, and a few Democrats in the North who co-operated with them, he was one of the first to declare his attachment to the Union and his readiness to sacrifice all he possessed, with life itself, if need be, to protect and defend the Republic in its unity and integrity.

In conclusion, I will simply remark that I belong to no party, whether Democrat, Whig, Republican, or any other, that is not for the preservation of the Union and the Constitution, without compromise or lines of demarcation, and which is not in favor of the prosecution of the war until the rebels lay down their arms, and are willing to submit to the laws and Constitution of the United States.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN E. WOOL.

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### **Why General John A. Logan supports Lincoln and Johnson.**

That gallant and successful soldier, Major-General John A. Logan, who has been claimed by the Democrats as a supporter

of the Chicago Platform and the peace-at-any-price candidates, made a grand Union speech at Carbondale, Illinois, on the 1st inst., in which he lashed the copperheads with just severity. We make the following eloquent extract:

I tell you, gentlemen, when you see men coming home from the army, it makes no difference what their politics may have been, if they have been honest, true and faithful men, you find that they would suffer their tongues to be torn out by the roots before they would lisp a word in behalf of that Chicago Platform or the men who made it. They can not and will not do it.

I used to be a follower of the illustrious STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS. They called me a Douglas worshiper. I believe many others thought as much of DOUGLAS as I did. If that great and good man were alive today, and I wish he were, he would stand on this War and Union Platform side by side with me, and advocate the same measures that I do. Listen to what he said in the last letter he ever wrote. It was a letter to VIRGIL HICKOX, Chairman of the State Democratic Central Committee. VIRGIL was looking around, not knowing exactly what he ought to do. DOUGLAS wrote:

"All hope of compromise with the Cotton States was abandoned when they assumed the position that the separation of the Union was complete and final, and that they would never consent to a reconstruction in any contingency—not even if we should furnish them with a blank sheet of paper, and permit them to inscribe their own terms.

"I know of no mode in which a loyal citizen may so well demonstrate his devotion to his country as by sustaining the Constitution, the flag and the Union, under all circumstances and every administration, regardless of party politics, against all assailants at home and abroad."

That was the Douglas doctrine just before he died. It would be his doctrine to-day if he were alive. It is my doctrine to-day, and has been all along, and I intend to stand by it to the last. [Applause.]

This, then, is all that I care about saying in reference to these party platforms, or in reference to the candidates. So far as Mr. LINCOLN is concerned, I know this. There were a great many people in this country who opposed him four years ago. I know I did it just as heartily as any other man in the country. If any man had told me four years ago, that I would ever make a speech in favor of his election, I would have told him it was not so, and you could have proved it.

Indignant Copperhead in the crowd—"I think I could."

General Logan—But you couldn't do it now. [Laughter.] But when I find the leaders of the party I acted with betraying the trust the people reposed in them, when I find them repudiating the doctrine of Jackson, who was for hanging traitors to the highest tree he could find, and for preserving the Union at all hazards, either with blood or without it; when I find them leaving behind them all the doctrines of the Democratic party, renouncing their allegiance to their God, their country and our flag, I am not compelled to follow you any further, I cannot go with you into the precincts of treason and disloyalty.

Mr. Lincoln stands, I say, upon the true Union platform, and, therefore, I am for him.

I believe he has endeavored to sustain the Government honestly and faithfully. Although he may not have acted just to suit my views in some particulars, that shall make no difference.

Andrew Johnson I believe to be equally honest and faithful. I have but one choice to make between the Constitution, the Union and its heroes, on one side, and their defamers, on the other; I will act with no party who is not for my country, and must refuse my support to the nominees of the Chicago Convention. [Applause.]

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### A Soldier on the Chicago Platform.

CITY POINT, September 6, 1864.

When I first read the platform of the Chicago Convention I felt as if I could whip every enemy the country had, and if I had been put in action the next minute I doubt very much if I would have shown a particle of quarter whatever.

Only to think of a cowardly set of villians and traitors gathering together and making proposals of peace with a gang of outlaws, when any man of common sense and courage (which I suppose this convention never heard of) can see that they are about giving up the contest, knowing themselves that they are beaten as badly as any people ever was in the whole world. I don't believe there is a soldier in the army willing to abide by a cessation of hostilities, unless it may be a few bounty jumpers, and I don't call them friends to the cause, nor even men, much less soldiers. If I had my way, JEFF. DAVIS would have to call for peace twice, at least, before I would listen to him, and then I would answer, "Peace and pardon to all except JEFF. DAVIS, and hemp for him and for all others who are found bearing arms against the Government ten days after the issue of the proclamation."

G. F.

# LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

*No. 64.—Part 4.*

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## LETTERS OF LOYAL SOLDIERS.

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### LETTER OF GENERAL DIX,

#### His Opinion of the Chicago Platform.

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The following letter, from General Dix, was addressed to the Committee of the Union mass meeting, held in Independence square, in Philadelphia, on Saturday :

“NEW YORK, October 6, 1864.

“GENTLEMEN : I have received your invitation to address the mass meeting to be held in Independence Square, on Saturday. The duties incident to the active command of a military department render it impossible for me to attend public meetings, or make political speeches ; but I accede with pleasure to your request to write you a letter.

“There is but one question before this country in the approaching canvass. Shall we prosecute the war with unabated vigor until the rebel forces lay down their arms ; or shall we, to use the language of the Chicago Convention, make ‘immediate efforts’ for ‘a cessation of hostilities,’ with a view to an ultimate convention of all the States, &c.

“Believing that the latter measure, for whatever purpose adopted, would lead inevitably to a recognition of the independence of the insurgent States ; and believing, moreover, that true policy, as well as true mercy, always demands, in the unhappy exigencies of war, a steady and unwavering application of all the means and all the energies at command, until the object of the war is accomplished, I shall oppose the measure in every form in which opposition is likely to be effective.

“General McClellan, the candidate of the Chicago Convention, by force of his position, must be deemed to approve all the declarations with which he was presented to the country, unless he distinctly disavows them. Unfortunately he is silent on the only question in regard to which the people cared he should speak. He does not say whether he is in favor of a cessation of hostilities—the measure announced by those who nominated

him as the basis for action in case of his election—or whether he is opposed to it. He does not meet the question with manly frankness, as I am confident he would have done if he had taken counsel of his own instincts, instead of yielding to the subtle suggestions of politicians. The Chicago Convention presented a distinct issue to the people. As the nominee of the Convention he was bound to accept or repudiate it. He has done neither; and whatever inference may be drawn from his silence, either the war democrats or the peace democrats must be deceived.

“In calling for a cessation of hostilities, the members of the Chicago Convention have, in my judgment, totally misrepresented the feelings and opinions of the great body of the democracy. The policy produced in its name makes it—so far as such a declaration can—what it has never been before, a peace party, degrading it from the eminence on which it has stood in every other national conflict. In this injustice to the country, and to a great party identified with all that is honorable in our history, I can have no part. I can only mourn over the reproach which has been brought upon it by its leaders, and cherish the hope that it may hereafter, under the auspices of better counselors, resume its ancient, effective and beneficent influence on the administration of the Government.

“Does any one doubt as to the true cause of our national calamities? I believe it to be found in the management of the leaders of both the principal political parties during the last quarter of a century.

In 1840, the great men of the Whig party—Webster, Clay, and others—men of universally acknowledged ability and long experience in civil life—were thrust aside, and General Harrison, a man of moderate capacity, was selected as its candidate for the Presidency. The principle of availability, as it was termed, was adopted as the rule of selection, and the question of fitness became obsolete. The concern was to know, not who was best qualified to administer the government, but who, from his comparative obscurity, would be least likely to provoke embittered opposition. This was the beginning of a system of demoralization which has ended in the present distracted condition of the country. It reversed all the conservative principles of humane action by proscribing talent and experience, and crowning mediocrity with the highest honors of the republic. In 1844, the democratic party followed the successful example of its opponents in 1840. It put aside Van Buren, Cass, Marcy, and its

other eminent statesmen, and brought forward Mr. Polk—a man of merely ordinary ability. Parties which have neither the courage nor the virtue to stand by their greatest and best men soon fall into hopeless demoralization. This system of retrogradation in all that is manly and just, has continued, with two or three abortive efforts at reaction, for twenty-four years. It has driven pre-eminent talent out of the paths which lead to the highest political distinction ; and multitudes, with a simplicity which would be ludicrous, were it not so deplorable, ask what is become of our great men. The inquiry is easily answered. They are in the learned professions—in science, literature and art, and in the numberless fields of intellectual exertion which are opened by the wants of a great country in a rapid career of developement. The intellect of the country is neither diminished in the aggregate, nor dwarfed in its individual proportions. The political market, like the commercial, under the influence of the inflexible law of demand and supply, is furnished with the kind of material it requires. It calls for mediocrity and it gets nothing better. The highest talent goes where it is a passport to the highest rewards. It withdraws from a field in which the chance of accession to the first civic honor is in an inverse ratio of eminence and qualifications.

“Thus, under the rule of the inferior intellects, which party management has elevated to the conduct of the public affairs, the peace, the prosperity, and the high character of the country have gone down.

“If the great men of the republic had controlled the policy and action of the Government during the last quarter of a century, we should have had no rebellion. Distraction within invites aggression from without ; and we are enduring the humiliation of seeing a monarchy established in contact with our southern boundary by one of the great powers of Europe, in contempt of our repeated protestations ; and another of these powers permitting rebel cruisers to be armed in her ports to depredate on our commerce.

“Under such a system of political management no government can last long. I know it is not easy to change what such a lapse of time has fastened upon us. Politicians have the strongest interest in placing in the chair of state feeble men, whom they can control, instead of men of self-sustaining power, to whom they would be mere subordinates and auxiliaries. But the time will come—it may not be far distant—when the people, tired of



voting for men of inferior capacity, thrust upon them through the machinery of conventions, (in which they have no voice), will rise in their majesty, and place the conduct of their affairs in more capable hands. If such a change is not speedily effected, it is my firm belief that our republican institutions will fall to pieces, and an arbitrary government rise upon their ruins; for, unless the testimony of all history is to be discarded, no political system can be upheld except by giving to its administration the benefit of the very highest talent and the largest experience.

"Till this reform shall come, my advice to the great body of the people is, to hold fast to their traditionary principles and good name, by giving an earnest support to the war, and to scan with the severest scrutiny the conduct of those who control party movements. Many of the men who are most prominent in conventions have personal interest to subserve. Even those who are comparatively disinterested are not always the safest advisers. They have lived so long in the turbid atmosphere of party excitement and party traffic, that they have contracted morbid habits of thought and action, which, like chronic diseases in the human system, it is hard to alleviate and still harder to cure. The only hope left to us lies in the patriotism and disinterestedness of the great body of the people of all parties, who are facing the enemies of their country on the battle-field with a heroism unsurpassed in any age, or who at home, amid the prevailing tumult or disorder, are working out, in the quiet pursuit of their varied occupations, the momentous problem of the public prosperity and safety. When they shall send out, fresh from their own ranks, new men to consult together for the salvation of all that is most precious in government and society, there will be cause for hope and faith in our redemption from impending evils and dangers; bearing, in the meantime, as well as we can, the heavy burdens which have been cast upon us by a quarter of a century of political mismanagement and public misrule.

"It is time the people should understand these truths. No one perhaps, can tell them with more propriety than myself, having been, much of the period referred to, in public life, fruitlessly contending against party contrivances which have involved the country in all the evils of civil strife.

I am, very respectfully, yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

"JAMES H. ORME, *Chairman, &c.*,

"CADWALLADER BIDDLE, *Secretary.*"

